Tells the Facts and Names the Names

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The Making of Hillary Clinton

By Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair

This is the summer for show-and-tell books about two icons of the Nineties, one of whom survived into the twenty-first century. We'll leave Tina Brown's bio of Princess Di and focus our gaze on Jeff Gerth and Don Van Natta Jr.'s *Her Way: The Hopes and Ambitions of Hillary Rodham Clinton*. This is not the only account of HRC's life now on sale. We also have Carl Bernstein's vast *A Woman in Charge* and, from the far right, Bay Buchanan's *The Extreme Makeover of Hillary (Rodham) Clinton*.

But in terms of newly excavated facts from this oft-mined topic, Gerth and Van Natta offer the most. It was of course the *New York Times*' Gerth who brought us the Whitewater scandal during Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign. Fortunately for the Clintons, his prose was so impenetrable that whatever scandal might have occurred during that real estate transaction was entirely obscured in a verbal thicket. Van Natta at least seems capable of writing clearly. The only chapter that is impossible to decipher is clearly written by Gerth, revisiting the Whitewater scandal and the relationship of this real estate investment by the Clintons to Madison Guaranty, a topic on which many millions of dollars of public money were squandered by special prosecutor Kenneth Starr.

HRC, one can surmise from Gerth and Van Natta's interesting and well-researched account, has always been an old-style Midwestern Republican in the Illinois style; one severely infected with Methodism, unlike the more populist variants from Indiana, Wisconsin and Iowa.

Hillary's first known political enter-

(Editors *continued on page 5)*

André Gunder Frank, the FBI and the Bureaucratic Exile of a Critical Mind

By David Price

André Gunder Frank's life work examined how the poverty of underdeveloped nations was not the product of haphazard misfortune, but was the inevitable outcome of capitalist economic systems. His studies of the "development of underdevelopment" described the process of capital accumulation as part of a larger world system, first in southern regions of the New World, then later in the Old World. During the 1960s and 70s, Frank's writings critically transformed the understanding of global inequality.

The recent release of 190 out of an acknowledged 298 pages of Frank's FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act illuminates not only the extent of the FBI's surveillance of him and his work, but of the U.S. government's interests in seeing to it that he could not teach in U.S. universities. For much of his life, he worked as a peripatetic scholar traveling under a German passport; this itinerant status was the combined result of his love of travel, a deep distrust of authority, a reluctance to compromise, and a concerted effort by the INS, FBI and other U.S. agencies to not allow Frank to renew his Resident Alien status.

Frank's FBI file contains records from a 1962 U.S. Army investigation of his father, a famous pacifist and German novelist, Leonhard Frank. His father's file details his involvement in the failed 1919 Berlin communist revolt, political affiliations, writings, and how he and his family fled Berlin for the United States in 1933. The file records that at the age of four, André (born Andreas; Gunder was a high school nickname) came to the U.S.A. with his parents, received his schooling in California and Michigan, eventually writing his doctoral dissertation on Soviet Ukrainian agricultural production at the University of Chicago under the tutelage of Milton Friedman in 1957.

The FBI's first file entry on André Gunder Frank was a 1957 memo from an Omaha FBI agent requesting permission from J. Edgar Hoover to open an investigation on Frank's activities at Iowa State University, where Frank was an economics professor. This request was spawned by Frank's analysis at a campus Social Science Seminar of the "Soviet governmental process", where he "rudely" remarked "that the Politburo is no different than the Security Council we have as an adviser to the President… [Frank] advised that the general tenor of democratic action in Russia as in the United States. [Frank] argued that the Russians have a legislative branch in the Presidium which fulfills the same place as our legislative assemblies". (The agent's report did not include a comparison of KGB and FBI methods of monitoring dissident scholars.) The identity of the FBI informer remains censored but appears to have been one of Frank's ISU colleagues. The FBI made further inquiries among ISU faculty concerning Frank's loyalties, and the FBI assembled a dossier on Frank's educational background and political affiliations – noting with concern that he had been published in the *American Socialist*. Hoover advised the Omaha agent not to open an investigation because Headquarters did not believe Frank warranted investigation for illegal communist activities.

Frank's early writings didn't have the sparks of his later radical analysis, and the FBI's interest in his politics was sated

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by this brief campus investigation. That spring, Frank resigned from Iowa State and took a position at Michigan State University, where he taught for five years before resigning to travel for several years in Europe and South America. During the 1960s, he held university positions in Brazil, Canada, Chile, and Mexico.

The FBI next investigated Frank in 1961, when his and his mother's names appeared in FBI and CIA investigations related to the espionage arrest of Soviet U.N. delegate, Igor Melekh. As part of this investigation, J. Edgar Hoover sent CIA Director Allen Dulles a summary of FBI intelligence relating to André Gunder Frank's contacts with Melekh. Frank's mother, Edena Frank, had befriended Melekh in her capacity as a translator at the U.N.; she had introduced André to Melekh, and the FBI believed that Melekh and Gunder corresponded for some time.

In 1961, an FBI agent interviewed Frank at his home and concluded that "apart from Frank's comment that Melekh's character did not lend itself to espionage, he made no statements which would give any insight into his sympathies. He was noticeably cautious in his selection of words and volunteered no information on which his sympathies might be evaluated". Frank told the FBI that Melekh had been generous to his mother and had made kind inquiries after her health during a period of illness, "a gesture for which Dr. Frank was very grateful". Frank had asked Melekh for introductions to Soviet scholars who might help him during a research visit to the Soviet Union in July 1960, but Melekh had not provided any contacts. Charges against Melekh were later dropped, and he returned to the USSR with his family.

In March 1962, the FBI's Bern legal attaché sent Hoover (with copies sent to the CIA and FBI liaisons in Bonn, Paris and Rio de Janeiro) a memo (still heavily censored) reporting that "the American Consulate General, Geneva, Switzerland,

One 1995 FBI report concluded, "there is no doubt that Frank is thoroughly anti-American and pro-Communist and would represent a danger to this country were he present".

is being contacted for any information it might have with respect to the allegation that Frank was responsible for the poisoning of _____". The half page that follows is still censored, and there's no mention of this "poisoning" in the remainder of his file; it is unclear what this report means, but it is likely that the FBI was fishing for or cultivating rumors to be used to discredit Frank. If there was any evidence supporting this claim, the FBI would have hunted for it, but this is the only reference to any poisoning in his released file.

In August 1962, the FBI intercepted a letter Frank wrote his mother from Guatemala. In the letter, Frank responded to her motherly concerns about him not marrying and settling in one place. Frank wrote:

"That no one is forcing me not to stay in one place is true. I am trying to stay in one place for a while – Cuba – but I haven't even been able to get there, much less stay there. I think of course my reasons for not working in the U.S. are good ones… I have tried by mail to get a job at the new university of Europe in Florence. But I never heard from them, and it's not the kind of place for me. I am beginning to suspect – much too rightwing, but then most places are including all places in the U.S. I have a job offer from Leipzig East Germany, but as you know I can't stand the Germans. … I am getting ready to retire also – from the world. I don't think I like it. I don't know why my father put up with it so long".

FBI reactions to this letter are partially censored, but one later FBI commentary noted "that the subject's father was a suicide". Four months later Frank married Chilean Marta Fuentes, whose radical political views helped push Frank's critique further.

Frank's intellectual interests increasingly focused on how American and European policies extracted wealth from South American nations. In 1963, a Rio de Janeiro FBI agent reported to Hoover that Frank had written a letter to the U.S. Embassy criticizing American policy in Brazil. The agent reported that Frank wrote, "Americans in Brazil are engage in 'spoilage.' He has further made the remarks, according to the Political Section, that he does not feel that the help that has been given to Brazil has done any good". A more extensive FBI investigation of Gunder was then undertaken – mostly rehashing old information with new efforts to trace his movements, but this time the FBI noted his developing critique of how the U.S.A. manipulated South American political and economic developments.

In 1996, Gunder told me he believed that a letter he had written, mimeographed and sent to about a dozen U.S. friends in 1964, had been turned over to U.S. authorities by one of the recipients. He wrote me that "the INS people cited that letter as 'grounds' for my exclusion from the U.S. because of what I said in that private letter, and in an article published in the *Monthly Review* about my 'ideology'". Frank noted the possibility (suggested by a third party) that one of the letter's recipients who had been critically mentioned in this letter had been a "conduit of the letter to the U.S. government". However, nothing in Frank's FBI file referenced this letter – though other intercepted letters are reproduced or summarized.

This July 1, 1964, letter was a typed, 10-page single-spaced impassioned dispatch combining detailed explanations of Frank's ideological transformations with a notice of his desire to return to the U.S.A. to rejoin an academic world he had abandoned. He chronicled four years of travels, teachings, writings, and the transformations of his understanding of

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global capitalism's uses of underdevelopment. He identified his international political positions as being aligned with those of "the Chinese" and nationally with "militant black nationalists such as Malcom X".

He denounced his former mentor, Milton Friedman, describing Friedman's work as a "disingenuous mixture of fallaciously muddled logic with unscientific selection of some and crass disregard for other facts". Frank worried that his views had become so contrary to U.S. policy literature that he might not be able to teach in the U.S. He worried that the American government "might try to interfere with or to prevent my work along the aforementioned lines, particularly inasmuch as I am a foreigner. In fact, my relations with the government already render difficult and maybe even impossible my reentry into the United States. For various technical reasons and my refusal to be drafted, I already had serious difficulties in traveling and returning from abroad while I was a permanent resident of the U.S. without citizenship. But now I am not even a resident anymore, since I lost my residency by staying out too long".

Gunder closed his letter with requests for reports from old friends about the intellectual climate he could expect back in the U.S.A., and for tips on job possibilities.

The article Frank said so frightened the INS was his September 1966 *Monthly Review* essay on "The Development of Underdevelopment", which argued that underdevelopment "was and is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself". After Frank's death in 2005, *Monthly Review*'s editors wrote that this essay "was seen by the U.S. government as constituting a threat to its empire in the Americas, and he was sent a letter from the U.S. attorney general telling him that he would not be allowed reentry into the United States".

Though his FBI file does not reference Frank's July 1, 1964, letter, it does discuss another 1964 letter indicating Frank's political orientation.

In November 1964, an unidentified woman who had met Frank's mother the previous summer on a flight returning to NYC from a visit to Chile reported to the FBI that she had translated a letter written in Spanish, "which Mrs. Frank had received from _____ in Chile. According to Mrs. Frank, _____ is _____ of Andreas Frank, who is the son of Mrs. Elena Frank". While the identity of the letter's author is censored, it appears to be André's wife Marta Fuentes – though Fuentes' own radical politics were at odds with the summarized contents of the letter. The FBI's summary of the letter states that the author of the letter "was very much opposed to communism and the pro-Castro type of Government in Cuba and strongly disapproved of … communist sympathies and ideologies. [The letter's author] indicated in the letter that she wrote to Mrs. Frank in order to determine whether anything could be done to change the political feelings of Andreas Frank".

Without access to the original letter or the identity of the letter's author, it is difficult to interpret the meaning of this letter, which may have been nothing more than a daughter-in-law's efforts to maintain cordial relations with her relatively conservative mother-in-law. Whatever the contextual meaning of the letter, to the FBI it corroborated their belief that Frank's loyalties were not aligned with U.S. interests.

One 1965 FBI report concluded, "there is no doubt that Frank is thoroughly anti-American and pro-Communist and would represent a danger to this country were he present". The FBI continued to monitor Frank's correspondence with his mother and learned that he had asked her for some public U.N. documents from the 1964 Trade and Development Conference in Geneva. Another 1965 memo recorded a Detroit agent telling Hoover that "every effort will be made to prevent [Frank] from returning to the United States", but that there was "a problem concerning the matter of the wording of the denial of [his] application for reentry". INS watchlists were generated forthwith. A Bonn FBI agent alerted Hoover to an article by Frank in *The Nation* criticizing U.S. policies in Brazil.

An unidentified FBI informer in Brooklyn sent a letter to the American Embassy in Bonn, claiming that Edena Frank had recently returned from Germany where she had received $10,000 in "illegal money" from the German government. The informer claimed that both mother and son Frank were Communists, and that Edena was leaking secrets from the U.N.

As Frank intensified his work on *Capitalism and Underdevelopment* in Latin America, the FBI became increasingly committed to keeping him out of the U.S.A. In the summer and fall of 1965, the FBI received news that Frank was in Mexico City, and they used local informers working in Communist circles and FBI agents to try and find him. The FBI appears convinced that Frank's theory was developed as part of a foreign Communist Party's efforts; several FBI memos record efforts to tie his critique to Socialist Workers Party doctrine; in a memo on a "Chinese Communist Intelligence Biographical Data Album", a NY agent conceded there was not enough data to connect Frank with Chinese Communism.

Frank's critique forcible argued that the poorer nations were not poor due to luck of the draw; they were made that way by processes of underdevelopment.

After the American Embassy in Lima issued Frank a three-month U.S. visa in 1966, the INS issued a "lookout notice", but by August the FBI concluded that he had not returned to the U.S., and the FBI monitored his bank account in Mexico City to attempt to track his movements.

After the publication of *Capitalism and Underdevelopment,* the FBI renewed investigations into Gunder's past activism. A 1968 newspaper clipping in his file – under the headline "Says Marxist View Lost Him Post" – tells the story of Frank not being rehired at Montreal's Sir George Williams University "because of his Marxist political ideology" and for endorsing a student strike. The article quoted Frank as saying he would be teaching at the National University in Chile, "because there is nothing left for me to do in Canada".

In 1968, Frank joined the staff of the University of Chile's Centre for Socio-Economic Studies where some of Latin America's most influential Marx-

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ists, dependency theorists and liberation theologians held forth until the 1973 coup overthrew Allende's socialist government and pushed Frank and his colleagues into exile. Curiously, Frank's released FBI file contained little information from this period, though such international monitoring was increasingly becoming the task of the CIA – which has not yet released their files on Frank.

The CIA's role in monitoring Frank is suggested by a December 1970 memo from J. Edgar Hoover to the Director of Central Intelligence, Richard Helms, passing on a copy of the underground newspaper *News from Nowhere* containing information on Frank. The FBI's released files on Frank are blank for most of the rest of the 1970s and '80s as he taught in Belgium, Chile, China, England, Germany, Holland, and the U.S.A. The INS and State Department did not allow Frank back into the U.S. until 1979, when Senator Edward Kennedy intervened so that Frank could teach a seminar at Boston University.

The last entries in Frank's file summarize legal findings from the 1990 case of National Lawyer's Guild v. U.S. Attorney General; a case settled out of court with the U.S. admitting that prior to 1977, the FBI had engaged in COINTELPRO type operations on Guild members – activities that included wiretaps and monitoring of NLG business. Because the NLG assisted Frank in his legal efforts to reenter the U.S.A., his communications with Guild legal advisors may have been subjected to surveillance; or he may have been active in one of the organizations (such as the Chilean Task Force) listed as receiving NLG assistance.

Clearly, the FBI viewed Frank and his work as a threat. The best way to consider the nature of the threat presented by Frank's dependency analysis is to consider Modernization Theory, the model that Frank's work most directly challenged. Modernization Theory was developed by Walt Whitman Rostow* in his 1960 book, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*; the words, "Non-Communist Manifesto", being the key words. Modernization Theory claimed that all societies could reach the pinnacle of economic prosperity enjoyed in the U.S. by aping the three stages of development that the U.S.A. had undertaken. The catch was that the U.S. was to oversee these projects, offering aid in the form of loans to assist developing nations as they leapfrogged up the imagined evolutionary ladder to a top rung, where every nation could be a winner.

Frank demonstrated that Rostow's model ignored the roles of debt and the inevitable manipulative patron/client relations that derived from aid programs and therefore contributed to the underdevelopment of nations. We now know that these were not "accidental" benefits. A declassified 1954 CIA memo on "Notes on Foreign Economic Policy" finds Rostow smirking to Director of Central Intelligence Allen Dulles that these aid programs had more immediate political rewards for nations dispersing aid, as these programs were part of a strategy that would produce goods for international markets and could be used to undermine Soviet influences.

The notion that there could be any problem with free trade is beyond the imagination of most economists.

Frank's critique forcibly argued that the poorer nations were not poor due to luck of the draw; they were made that way by processes of underdevelopment, in which their wealth was extracted by developed nations. He demonstrated how the ages of empires and colonialism extracted wealth from afar for uses in the core. As Frank showed, in the 20 century the national debts and dependency created by modernization's development projects had a considerably greater social impact than the demographic, economic, social, health or agricultural benefits they produced.

While our knowledge of the U.S. government's surveillance of Frank is incomplete, we know that the FBI monitored Frank and assisted INS efforts to foil his return to the U.S.A. to spread his critical views. A recent *Boston Globe* (6/12/07) story on the FBI's "Counterintelligence Domain Program" reports how the FBI now gets American universities to restrict unspecified public research that may be of use to unknown enemies. What this unspecified research is remains unclear. We know that during the 1960s and 70s, this was the rationalization for efforts by the FBI and INS to keep André Gunder Frank and other critical scholars out of the U.S. university system; given current efforts to refuse visas to critical scholars from the Arab world and elsewhere, we can assume that similar tactics are employed to keep voices critical of American policies at the periphery away from the core of empire.

*As proof of life's dialectical irony: Rostow's father was an ardent socialist who named Walt and his brother, Eugene Debs Rostow, after America's greatest poet and after the famous socialist.

David Price is author of *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI's Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists* (Duke, 2004). His next book is *Anthropological Intelligence: The Use and Abuse of American Anthropology in the Second World War*. He can be reached at: dprice@stmartin.edu. CP

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(**Editors** *continued from page 1 col 1)*

prise was in the 1960 presidential election, the squeaker where the state of Illinois notoriously put Kennedy over the top, courtesy of Mayor Daley, Sam Giancana and Judith Exner. Hillary was a Nixon supporter. She took it on herself to probe allegations of vote fraud. From the leafy middle-class suburbs of Chicago's west side, she journeyed to the tenements of the south side, a voter list in her hand. She went to an address recorded as the domicile of hundreds of Democratic voters and duly found an empty lot. She rushed back to campaign headquarters, agog with her discovery, only to be told that Nixon was throwing in the towel.

The way Hillary Clinton tells it in her *Living History* – an autobiography convincingly demolished by Gerth and Van Natta, she went straight from the Nixon camp to the cause of Martin Luther King Jr., and never swerved from that commitment. Not so. Like many Illinois Republicans, she did have a fascination for the Civil Rights movement and spent some time on the south side, mainly in African Methodist churches under the guidance of Don Jones, a teacher at her high school. It was Jones who took her to hear King speak at Chicago's Orchestra Hall and later introduced her to the Civil Rights leader.

Gerth and Van Natta eschew psychological theorizing, but it seems clear that the dominant influence in Hillary life was her father, a fairly successful, albeit very tightwad Welsh draper, supplying Hilton hotels and other chains. From this irritable patriarch Hillary kept secret – a marked penchant throughout her life – her outings with Jones and her encounter with King. Her public persona was that of a Goldwater Girl. She battled for Goldwater through the 1964 debacle and arrived at Wellesley in the fall of 1965 with enough Goldwaterite ambition to become president of the Young Republicans as a freshman.

The setting of Hillary's political compass came in the late Sixties. The fraught year of 1968 saw the Goldwater girl getting a high-level internship in the House Republican Conference with Gerald Ford and Melvin Laird, without an ounce of the Goldwater libertarian pizzazz. Hillary says the assassinations of King and Robert Kennedy, plus the war in Vietnam, hit her hard. The impact was not of the intensity that prompted many of her generation to become radicals. She left the suburb of Park Forest and rushed to Miami to the Republican Convention where she fulfilled a lifelong dream of meeting Frank Sinatra and John Wayne and devoted her energies to saving the Party from her former icon, Nixon, by working for Nelson Rockefeller.

Nixon triumphed, and Hillary returned to Chicago in time for the Democratic Convention where she paid an afternoon's visit to Grant Park. By now a proclaimed supporter of Gene McCarthy, she was appalled, not by the spectacle of McCarthy's young supporters being beaten senseless by Daley's cops, but by the protesters' tactics, which she concluded were not viable. Like her future husband, Hillary was always concerned with maintaining viability within the system.

Hillary rushed to Miami to the Republican Convention, where she fulfilled a lifelong dream of meeting Frank Sinatra and John Wayne.

After the convention Hillary embarked on her yearlong senior thesis, on the topic of the Chicago community organizer Saul Alinsky. She has successfully persuaded Wellesley to keep this under lock and key, but Gerth and Van Natta got hold of a copy. So far from being an exaltation of radical organizing, Hillary's assessment of Alinsky was hostile, charging him with excessive radicalism. Her preferential option was to seek minor advances within the terms of the system. She did not share these conclusions with Alinsky who had given her generous access during the preparation of her thesis and a job offer thereafter, which she declined.

What first set Hillary in the national spotlight was her commencement address at Wellesley, the first time any student had been given this opportunity. Dean Acheson's granddaughter insisted to the president of Wellesley that youth be given its say, and the president picked Hillary as youth's tribune. Her somewhat incoherent speech included some flicks at the official commencement speaker, Senator Edward Brooke, the black Massachusetts senator, for failing to mention the Civil Rights movement or the war. Wellesley's president, still fuming at this discourtesy, saw Hillary skinny-dipping in Lake Waban that evening and told a security guard to steal her clothes.

The militant summer of 1969 saw Hillary cleaning fish in Valdez, Alaska, and in the fall she was at Yale being stalked by Bill Clinton in the library. The first real anti-war protests at Yale came with the shooting of the students at Kent State. Hillary saw the ensuing national student upheaval as, once again, a culpable failure to work within the system. "I advocated engagement, not disruption."

She finally consented to go on a date with Bill Clinton, and they agreed to visit a Rothko exhibit at the Yale art gallery. At the time of their scheduled rendez-vous with art, the gallery was closed because the museum's workers were on strike. The two had no inhibitions about crossing a picket line. Bill worked as a scab in the museum, doing janitorial work for the morning, getting as reward a free tour with Hillary in the afternoon.

In the meantime, Hillary was forging long-term alliances with such future stars of the Clinton age as Marian Wright Edelman and her husband Peter, and also with one of the prime political fixers of the Nineties, Vernon Jordan. It was Hillary who introduced Bill to these people, as well as to Senator Fritz Mondale and his staffers.

If any one person gave Hillary her start in liberal Democratic politics, it was Marian Wright Edelman who took Hillary with her when she started the Children's Defense Fund. The two were inseparable for the next twenty-five years. In her autobiography, published in 2003, Hillary lists the 400 people who have most influenced her. Marion Wright Edelman doesn't make the cut. Neither to forget nor to forgive. Peter Edelman was one of three Clinton appointees at the Department of Health and Human Services who quit when Clinton signed the Welfare reform bill, which was about as far from any "defense" of children as one could possibly imagine.

Hillary was on Mondale's staff for the summer of '71, investigating worker abuses in the sugarcane plantations of southern Florida, as close to slavery as anywhere in the U.S.A. Life's ironies: Hillary raised not a cheep of protest when one of the prime plantation families, the Fanjuls, called in their chips (laid down in the form of big campaign contributions to Clinton) and insisted that Clinton tell

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Vice President Gore to abandon his calls for the Everglades to be restored, thus taking water Fanjul was appropriating for his operation.

From 1971 on, Bill and Hillary were a political couple. In 1972, they went down to Texas and spent some months working for the McGovern campaign, swiftly becoming disillusioned with what they regarded as an exercise in futile ultraliberalism. They planned to rescue the Democratic Party from this fate by the strategy they have followed ever since: the pro-corporate, hawkish neoliberal recipes that have become institutionalized in the Democratic Leadership Council, of which Bill Clinton and Al Gore were founding members.

In 1973, Bill and Hillary went off on a European vacation, during which they laid out their 20-year project designed to culminate with Bill's election as president. Inflamed with this vision, Bill proposed marriage in front of Wordsworth's cottage in the Lake District. Hillary declined, the first of twelve similar refusals over the next year. Bill went off to Fayetteville, Arkansas, to seek political office. Hillary, for whom Arkansas remained an unappetizing prospect, eagerly accepted, in December '73, majority counsel John Doar's invitation to work for the House committee preparing the impeachment of Richard Nixon. She spent the next months listening to Nixon's tapes. Her main assignment was to prepare an organizational chart of the Nixon White House. It bore an eerie resemblance to the twilit labyrinth of the Clinton White House 18 years later.

Hillary had an offer to become the in-house counsel of the Children's Defense Fund and seemed set to become a high-flying public interest Washington lawyer. There was one impediment. She failed the D.C. bar exam. She passed the Arkansas bar exam. In August of 1974, she finally moved to Little Rock and married Bill in 1975 at a ceremony presided over by the Rev. Vic Nixon. They honeymooned in Acapulco with her entire family, including her two brothers' girlfriends, all staying in the same suite.

After Bill was elected governor of Arkansas in 1976, Hillary joined the Rose Law Firm, the first woman partner in an outfit almost as old as the Republic. It was all corporate business, and the firm's prime clients were the state's business heavyweights – Tyson Foods, Wal-Mart, Jackson Stevens Investments, Worthen Bank and Weyerhaeuser, the state's largest landowner.

Two early cases (of a total of five that Hillary actually tried) charted her course. The first concerned the successful effort of Acorn – a public interest group doing community organizing – to force the utilities to lower electric rates on residential consumers and raise on industrial users. Hillary represented the utilities in a challenge to this progressive law, the classic right-wing claim, arguing that the measure represented an unconstitutional "taking" of property rights. She carried the day for the utilities.

The second case found Hillary representing the Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Arkansas in a lawsuit filed by a disabled former employee who had been denied full retirement benefits by the company. In earlier years, Hillary had worked at the Children's Defense Fund on behalf of abused employees and disabled children. Only months earlier, while still a member of the Washington, D.C., public interest community, she had publicly ripped Joseph Califano for becoming the Coca Cola company's public counsel. "You sold us out, you, you sold us out!" she screamed publicly at Califano. Working now for Coca Cola, Hillary prevailed. CP.

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